(usually from existing divisions) on the borders of the original twenty-two inherited from the Ch'ing. The *ksien* survived as a characteristic local administrative unit, and villages, families, and guilds kept up their functions, although often much modified and weakened. There were many irregular tax levies, but the land and salt taxes and the customs duties (sadly diminished after 1937 by the Japanese blockade) continued to be basic sources of revenue. Guilds, clans, and secret societies still played an important part in government. Secret societies, indeed, may even have become more influential under the Republic. A large proportion of the educated belonged to them. Seldom did a man join more than one. While their membership and proceedings were not public and their activities were seldom heralded in the public press, they formed extremely important factors in politics. The Control and the Examining *Yuan* of the Nationalist Government were attempts at reviving two of the characteristic features of the imperial system, the censorate and the civil service examinations. To be sure, they were rather futile, for the Examining *Yuan* had for years a large salaried staff and only after 1930 were a few feeble attempts made at holding examinations. Still, they were the result of an effort to carry over into the new some of the best elements of the old.

Prophecy is always dangerous and never more so than in present-day China. What the government of China will be, if and when it becomes fairly stabilized, it is impossible to predict. That the old can never return seems fairly clear. For better or for worse, the Chinese have broken with the system inherited from the Chou, the Ch'in and the Han. Some of the spirit of the

old may well persist. For example, an educational system under the close control of the government and inculcating a uniform culture as a means of national unity has been stressed. Since it is in accord with the tendency in the Occident and finds strength and incentive in the rising tide of nationalism, it will probably grow, and achieve in a somewhat different manner what was accomplished by the former civil service examinations. Two conflicting tendencies common to most governments and long visible in China are present—the desire for local autonomy and the urge to national unity through some kind of hierarchical bureaucracy.

It seems safe—and something of a banality—to guess that, as